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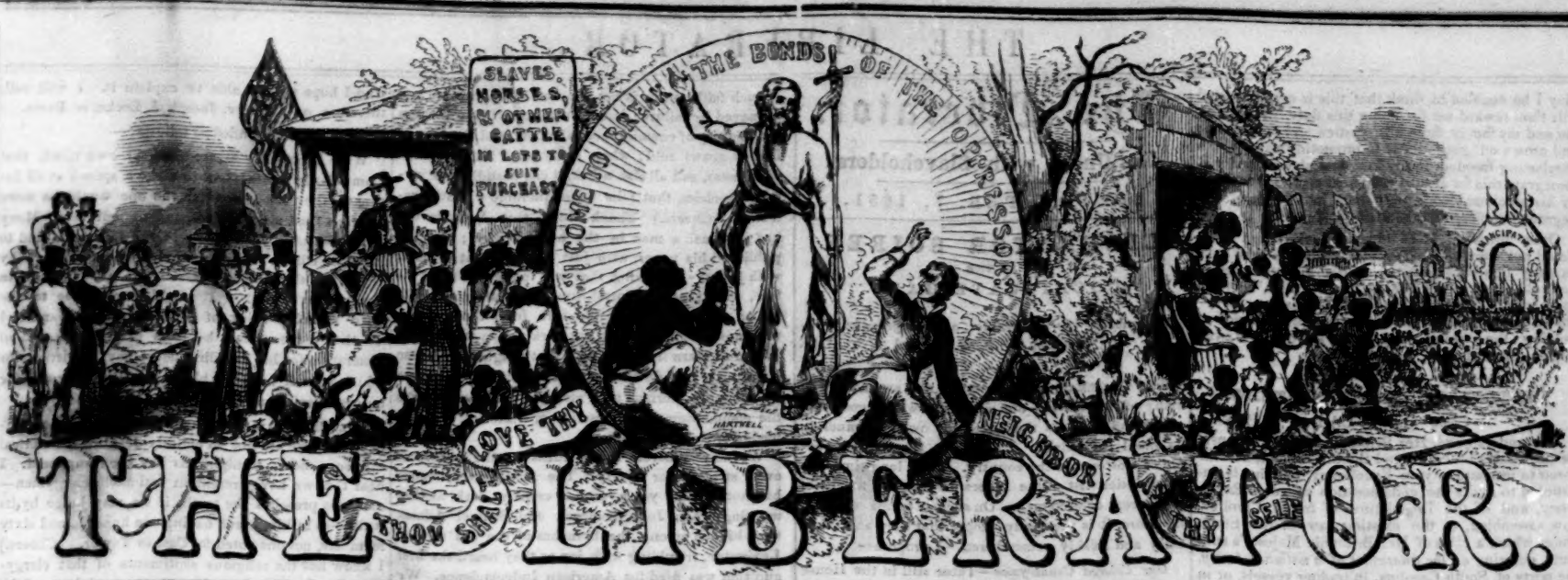
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The Agents of the American, Massachusetts,
Pennsylvania and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are
authorized to receive subscriptions for the Liberator.

Financial Committee.—FRANCIS JACKSON, ELIAS
L. LORING, EDWARD QUENT, SAMUEL PHILLIPS,
WILLIAM PIERCE. [This Committee is responsible
for the financial economy of the paper—not for
any of its contents.]

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.
VOL. XXI. NO. 6.



OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

BOSTON, MASS., FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1851.

WHOLE NO. 1048

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on the institution of slavery, and its fall under
the action of the law, will be of interest.

"Within the last six weeks, I have addressed
more than forty public assemblies, in Illinois, Mis-
souri, and Indiana—have travelled on steamboats,
on horseback, and on foot; through swamps,
large of my whereabouts, and without acquaintances
possessing, and kind Christian treatment, from the
people. For the last
of men and women. I have seen slavery
in the West Indies, Venezuela, and Brazil—but
have never seen it under more brutal and mis-
erable circumstances, all things considered, than
in Missouri and Louisiana. The houses for the ser-
vants are

direct incursions on their liberties. There is no safety but in the supremacy of the divine law, and of that alone, above all human statutes, over the conscience and the man.

Now, so far from evil being excused by its being commanded by a law, the moment it is so commanded, that moment the duty of opposition to it is in every right way, the duty of showing up its wickedness, the duty of resolutely disobeying it, the duty of asserting God's law and an enlightened conscience against it, becomes absolute. For, the moment any evil becomes law, that moment the evil is increased, and at least it argues, that if there be a law, the evil itself, by being thus sanctioned, is diminished; and they argue that while it remains a law, it must be obeyed, until it can be repealed, or else there will be greater wickedness in disobeying it, than there would be in committing the evil which it commands. Now if such a course were adopted, no evil law would ever be repealed, for soon precedent upon precedent would be pleaded, and obedience to the law become the custom, and the willing obedience given would itself be pleaded as a proof that the people were well pleased, and so the wickedness would go on, and despite legislation would have it all their own way. The only right and safe course is disobedience from the outset.

Let us test this casuistry by some plain cases; it is the best method of revealing its iniquities. Let us suppose that such a course of reasoning were applied to laws sanctioning and providing for houses of ill-fame. The moment those laws are passed, that moment the sin which they sanction and evil before, would become a respectable action. Or suppose that laws are passed for the protection of gambling establishments; the moment they are passed, the various forms of gambling become respectable; and according to this reasoning, men must not oppose them, because they are protected by law. Or suppose the laws protecting the slave-trade were in existence, then, according to this reasoning, it would be iniquitous and dangerous to oppose that traffic, or to disobey those laws. The slave-trade might be admitted to be a sin and an evil, but it would be said that as long as the law protected it, so long as we were rebellious in opposing it. In fine, on this principle, no unjust law could ever be opposed, but only reformation in society could ever be carried on, and no advancement in freedom would be possible.

But contrary to all this, the moment evil is passed into a law, that moment opposition to it becomes a duty. It is a duty now with all men—whereas, before, the duty of opposition to the evil might have been confined to the few and individual instances or neighborhoods where the evil had prevailed. It is a duty now, by the divine word, which declares, *Thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbor; thou shalt not suffer sin upon him.* If you know a law which by God's word is wrong, you are bound to declare it wrong; you cannot yourself obey it, and keep a conscience void of offence toward God; and you cannot suffer others to obey it without rebuke and reproof, and maintain a conscience void of offence towards man. And in regard to the enactment itself, God says, as to his own judgment of it, *Shall the throne of iniquity have fellowship with Thee, which frameth mischief by a law?* Now, that which can have no fellowship with God, and which God will not allow, should in no case be allowed of man, but man is bound to oppose it. It is a great enormity of wickedness in God's sight, this enacting a law, which men are bound to treat it as such.

There has been much irrelevant disquisition about the danger of revolutions, and much questioning as to when a revolution would be justifiable. And some have even dared to say that no human law ought ever to be disobeyed, unless it was so bad that a revolution would be justified. Men must have taken leave of all belief in the supremacy of God's law, as the standard of right and wrong, to say this. The question of disobedience to an unrighteous law has nothing to do with the question of a revolution. There could be no revolution, and no danger of it, if all men individually refused to obey every unrighteous law. And the sure way to prevent and forestall all need of a revolution, all possible conjunctions where a revolution might threaten, would be to render from the outset the enactment of unrighteous law absolutely impossible, by the impossibility of getting a single individual to obey it. If disobedience to unjust law were in every case the known and fixed resolution and habit of a people, under supreme regard to the divine law, legislators and governments would be careful enough never to pass unrighteous laws, never to show their own weakness, by bringing law into conflict with conscience, under the absolute certainty that conscience would prevail, and law be disgraced and dishonored.

The highest, most sacred, surest, most available, and most perfect remedy against unrighteous law is, therefore, direct, positive, resolute, individual obedience. Wherever it prevails, out of duty to God and justice, the arm of tyranny and despotism is palsied. A stop is put at once to the enactment of unrighteous law, by the known certainty that the people will not obey it, so that it will be futile, ineffectual, and injurious to the government. Let there once be virtue and religious principle enough in the people, to give strength to the command, that each individual will, from his own personal, conscientious regard to God and his law, refuse to obey an unrighteous human statute, and no such statute will ever be passed. And hence the great guilt of those who endeavor to persuade the people to obey an unrighteous statute, on the pretence of keeping peace with the government, and averting evil. Every such persuasion is treason against God. It is also, in fact, treason against the highest welfare of the country.

From the New York Independent.

FORM OF PRAYER FOR A MAN IN A TIGHT PLACE.

We are not personally in favor of *Forms of Prayer*. Yet there are persons who certainly profit by them. For such, they are helps not to be despised. There are occasions and topics, too, when conscientious men, even those who are fluent in extemporaneous prayer, find their utterance impeded; and if, upon such occasions and topics, some form of prayer could be used, it would be for edification.

For example, there are many good men in the Union Safety Committee, who would feel prayerful after running down a fugitive, and who would be much confused in returning thanks to God. The pious remarks of our Secretary of State at the New England dinner lead us to hope that he makes the return of fugitives a duty of prayer. The two excellent Divines who have recently exerted every energy to prove to the Christian community that the magistrate is higher than Conscience; that it is the duty of every Christian citizen to obey the law—hunt, catch, hold and return the black Christian brother, doing for his life, to the grip of his master—these Divines, by their prayers, would not do, or have others do, what they could not pray over.

Now we have considered their persuasions. We can perceive how innocent and well-meaning men might think it their duty to return a fugitive. But there is one thing that is more than a match for our imagination—it is the kind of prayer which a conscientious man would put up at night, after aiding, through the day, in sending a Christian woman back to her lawful master, or a girl back to the shambles, where her beauty would give her ready sale and a high price. Would he pray at all? Would he be troubled with wandering thoughts about his point of prayer? Would he dodge the question in Congressional style, and forget his prayers for a day or two?

Now, we have just been reading a Sermon entitled, *A Bundle of Myrror*, by Rev. Leonard W. Huntington, of Newburyport, Mass., and a very satisfactory fragrance exhales from it. On the cover this significant man has set forth a form of prayer, which, though not yet canonical, might be made so, if the Union Committee would but express their opinion that it meets the case.

A FORM OF PRAYER for such Christians as mean to aid in carrying into execution the Fugitive Slave Law, by Rev. Leonard W. Huntington of Newburyport.

May I be enabled to think that this is my duty, and with that reward me for doing this duty in keeping me and my family from all injustice and oppression; and crown our good deeds in promoting slavery with everlasting freedom in thy kingdom above; and with that grant this for Jesus Christ's sake, who redeemed us from all iniquity, and delivered us to himself, that we may live in freedom, and negroes into perpetual bondage.—Amen.

Other forms might be added to make out a book. Could not some of the excellent Divines who have recently figured before the public in attestation of their abhorrence for 'Politics in the Pulpit,' set forth appropriate forms of prayer for all the exigencies?—Ours is now wanted to be used on occasion of sending the wrong man into slavery.—HENRY WARD BEECHER.

PROTEST OF CONSUL MATHEW.

COLUMBIA, (S. C.) Dec. 14, 1850.

The undersigned, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul for the States of North and South Carolina, has the honor to intimate to your Excellency, that he is instructed to invite the consideration of your Excellency, and of the Legislature of South Carolina, now assembled, to the existing law of the State of North Carolina, which is in violation of the rights of the people of South Carolina, in trading vessels, or in 'distress,' are taken from the protection of the British flag, and imprisoned in the common jails until the moment of their ship's departure.

The direct mode, adopted by H. B. M.'s government in this communication, will, by the undersigned, be accepted as a further proof of consideration and good will towards the State of South Carolina.

Aware of the Constitutional change impending upon his arrival, he has purposely awaited your Excellency's official inauguration into office.

The State of South Carolina, the undersigned apprehends, has derived advantages of moment from the commercial intercourse with Great Britain, and it is, evidently, the price at which her staple commodities of rice and cotton can be sold, which she produces and imports from various other countries; nor will it escape the recollection of your Excellency and of the Legislature, that the faithful adherence of the British government to the law of the land, and the application of the words of the mutual treaty, enabled a talented Carolina gentleman to obtain for the South, under it, a further benefit.

To the distinct clause of that treaty, and to the declaration in the Constitution of the United States, that the Constitution, and the laws of the United States, which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authorities of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land, the undersigned begs to call your Excellency's attention, apprehending that its infraction, by the act in question, will appear indubitable.

The substitution of any more 'protective' basis of commercial intercourse, for the present treaty, would, he feels persuaded, be at variance with the wishes of H. B. M.'s Government, but it is just, and indispensable to it, continuity, that a perfect reciprocity in its advantages should be admitted.

H. B. M.'s Government seeks this reciprocity in the untrammelled trade of H. B. M.'s West Indian Colonies, with all parts of the United States. These colonies mainly depend on their imports for corn, flour, cattle, salt, provisions, and lumber, and, to their small, numerous vessels (necessarily manned by mixed and colored crews) as the ports of North and South Carolina, respectively, are more suitable and at all seasons accessible.

Your Excellency and the Legislature will, the undersigned cannot doubt, concur with him in the general international understanding of the powers or *Port Regulations*, co-existing with the mutual treaty, that such permanent regulations should extend to foreigners the same restrictions they impose on natives, of the spot, where they are enforced, of a similar class and calling, and no more.

The undersigned indulges in the hope that, under these circumstances, the Legislature of South Carolina will see fit to abrogate or amend such portion of the law, as applies to the subjects of foreign allied powers, and will thus strengthen the existing bonds of commerce, of friendship, and of mutual good faith, with a kindred nation.

(Signed) GEORGE B. MATHEW. To His Excellency, the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of South Carolina, &c., &c.

Reply of Governor Means.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, Columbia, S. C., Dec. 16, 1850.

The undersigned, Governor of the Commonwealth of South Carolina, has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the communication of Her Britannic Majesty's Consul, in relation to the law now existing, by which a class of H. B. M.'s subjects are imprisoned upon landing in Charleston, and the undersigned takes this occasion to assure H. B. M.'s Consul, of the friendly feelings entertained for his government by the State over which your Excellency presides, and intimating, also, your Excellency's intention to transmit the communication to the Legislature of the State, and to the Legislature of South Carolina, and to the Legislature of the United States.

The law alluded to, the Legislature of South Carolina deemed necessary to enact, from considerations of safety to the institutions of the State, and not with a view of imposing any unnecessary restraint upon the seamen claiming the protection of the flag of a friendly power.

The communication of H. B. M.'s Consul will be transmitted to the Legislature at the earliest possible convenience of the undersigned, and no doubt will meet with a respectful consideration.

(Signed) J. H. MEANS. To H. B. M.'s Consul, George B. Mathew, Esq.

Second Letter from Consul Mathew.

COLUMBIA, Dec. 17, 1850.

The undersigned, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul, for the States of North and South Carolina, has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's 'Note' of the 16th inst. conveying to him the gratifying assurance of the friendly feelings entertained for his government by the State over which your Excellency presides, and intimating, also, your Excellency's intention to transmit the communication to the Legislature of the State, and to the Legislature of South Carolina, and to the Legislature of the United States.

The undersigned would most desire, in continuance of his 'note' of the 14th inst., to request the consideration of your Excellency, and of the Legislature, to the opinion of the late Attorney General Wirt, elaborately written, under the command of the Hon. J. Q. Adams, President of the United States, and printed in 'Ellis's American Diplomatic Code,' (Appendix, vol. ii., p. 676), concluding in the following forcible language:

"I am of opinion, that the section of the law under consideration is void, for being against the Constitution, treaties, and law of the United States, and incongruous with the rights of all nations in unity with the United States."

This opinion your Excellency will, the undersigned conceives, hold to be well founded on the supreme power of treaties, as ruled by all writers on international law, and briefly, but decisively, laid down by Wharton, in his 'Elements of International Law,' who states, (page 132, chap. 1, part 2.) under the head of the 'Right of Self-Preservation and Independence,' of nations:

"The only exceptions to the application of these general rules arise out of compact, such as treaties of alliance, guarantee, or mediation, to which the State itself, whose concerns are in question, has become a party."

The undersigned feels fully assured that Her Majesty's Government may confidently rely on the loyalty and good faith of the Legislature of South Carolina to arrest from the present moment the operation of an act which he apprehends will, on examination, be found liable by the individual irritation it must cause, to create the results it was designed to preclude. (Signed) GEORGE B. MATHEW. His Excellency, the Governor of the State of South Carolina.

Reply of Governor Means.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, Columbia, Dec. 18th, 1850.

The undersigned, Governor over the Commonwealth of South Carolina, has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the note of the 17th, from H. B. M.'s Consul, and informs him that it will be transmitted to the Legislature forthwith.

The undersigned takes this occasion to renew his assurance of his own friendly feelings, and of those of the State, towards the Government of Great Britain, and of H. B. M.'s Government, and also his individual respect for H. B. M.'s Consul.

(Signed) JOHN H. MEANS. H. B. M.'s Consul, George B. Mathew, Esq.

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FEB. 7, 1851.

LIBERATOR SOIREE

AT THE COCHITUATE HALL.

[Conclusion of the Proceedings, as photographically reported by Dr. J. W. Stone.]

THE CHAIRMAN—I am happy to see around me so many of that class of our citizens to whose good will and friendly efforts the Liberator owed so much in its small beginnings. I allude to the colored people of Boston and the country. For a long time, the subscription list of the Liberator bore the names of few except colored men. On such an occasion as this, therefore, it is peculiarly proper that they should be early and freshly remembered. I propose—

Our Colored Countrymen—Those still in the House of Bondage, and those suffering yet the privations and toils of the wilderness, who have ever recognized the Moses of their Exodus, may they speedily arrive at the Land of Promise, and may he have, as he well deserves, more than a Pishgah glance at its glories.

I am sure I can call upon no one better fitted to reply to this toast than CHARLES LENOX REMOND. (Cheers.) Mr. Remond excusing himself, the Chairman called on Mr. William C. Neil, of Boston.

MR. NEIL—Mr. Chairman—It is certainly a disagreeable duty for me to attempt to respond, when Mr. Remond declines, as I have neither the vanity nor the courage to attempt the speech which this occasion, with the reminiscences it suggests, would prompt. But, in behalf of those with whom I am identified by complexion and condition, (a class which, I venture to say, owes more than all others to the honored guests of this evening,) I beg leave to submit the following sentiment:—

The Liberator, and its Editor, William Lloyd Garrison, and our other distinguished guest, Freedom's chosen orator, George Thompson.—The Journal which, twenty years ago, was as the cloud arising from the East, 'no bigger than a man's hand,' has now, in its influence, overpassed the land—agitating the moral and political firmament with the omnipotence of free discussion, the lightning of truth, and the thunders of a righteous indignation, (causing the timid to fly, and the vile to hide themselves,)—may it Editor, who this year attains his Liberator majority, continue to disseminate those leaves plucked from the tree of Liberty, and the scattering thereof tend to an immediate healing of the nation.

George Thompson—The eloquent, untiring and self-sacrificing advocate of oppressed man the world over, in whom the masses and the charities seem blended, and all nobly consecrated by him on the altar of Humanity—may the welcome extended to him, and the result of his labors in fraternal union with our beloved Garrison, convince the world that, though tyrants league in arms, the pen of the one and the voice of the other will yet achieve a triumphant victory, inspired by the irresistible Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE CHAIRMAN—Many of us, my friends, are not only citizens and inhabitants of Massachusetts, but there are many of us, I know, who date our ancestry from the Old Colony from the good old Colony of true men. I propose to you—

Plymouth Rock—The corner-stone of the institutions of New England. It will ever have a tongue when Liberty is in danger of being wounded in the house builded upon it.

For a response to that sentiment, I call upon Thomas Russell, Esq., formerly of Plymouth.

REMARKS OF THOMAS RUSSELL.

MR. PRESIDENT—After what you have heard tonight, I would not expect me to occupy much of your time. It would be presumptuous in a new recruit like myself, hardly enlisted under the banners of Freedom, to attempt to tell you old veterans, who have borne the heat and burden of the day, any thing about the cause you love so well, and have served so well. Besides, it does not seem to be a time, especially at this late hour, for long speeches. We come here rather to rejoice together; to shake hands with old friends and new friends; to catch the glad light that beams from so many happy faces; more than all, we come to renew our vows, and to swear afresh perpetual allegiance to the principles of freedom.

We have gone back, this evening, to the early days of the Anti-Slavery cause; to the hour of its birth and its danger; to the time when it was not safe in Boston to be an abolitionist; to the time when it was fashionable to mob women; to the perilous moment when a single arm arrested the progress of reform, and when a single voice, then first raised for freedom in Faneuil Hall, saved this city and State from shame and crime. We have gone back to-night to the day when the free soil of Illinois was reddened with the blood of our first martyr; and, further still, to the commencement of this agitation—to the scene which has been rendered immortal by a pro-slavery Mayor now deceased, and an anti-slavery poet, whose words can never die:

"In a small chamber, friendless and unseen,
Toiled alone one poor, unlearned young man;
The place was dark, unlighted and mean,
Yet there the freedom of a race began."

And, as we trace the feeble beginning of this mighty movement, I am reminded of a figure by which a great orator once illustrated his feelings in visiting the Rock of Plymouth, on the 22d of December. He compared the occasion to an incident in the exploring expedition of Lewis and Clark. After travelling over hundreds of miles of prairie and mountain, they reached a gray rock, from the side of which flowed a little stream—a tiny rill, which a pack of wolves might have lapped up, without quenching their thirst; and they gazed upon it with awe and admiration, for they recognized in that trickling rivulet the source of the majestic Missouri. So have we looked, in fancy, upon the little rill of Anti-Slavery agitation, which a pack of wolves thirsting for blood—clothed in broadcloth, and calling themselves 'gentlemen of property and standing'—would have lapped up, but they were not permitted. (Cheers.) We have found the source of that mighty stream which now rolls in resistless power through the land, sweeping away every refuge of lies, and every bulwark of oppression. (Applause.)

As we recall these early days, we learn anew to honor the zeal, the faith, the courage, with which that friendless youth took his stand for truth against the world. When he sent forth the Liberator, with those deathless words upon its pages, his feelings must have been like those of Copernicus, when his great astronomical discoveries were to be given to mankind. The story is old, but it will bear repeating. The dying astronomer is about to publish those truths which the Church of that day called infidelity, but which are now taught in all the Sabbath schools, as this man's infidelity shall yet be. The first sheets of his work are brought to his bedside. He knows the outcry which his theories will cause; he foresees the hatred and contempt that will be poured upon his name; but he knows that his doctrines are true, and he exclaims, with his last breath—'My book is printed, to be read now or by posterity, I care not which; I can wait a century for a reader, since God has waited six thousand years for an observer.' So would our leader have waited a life-time for a convert to those truths which had been waiting, ever since our country was settled, for an earnest man to proclaim them to the world.

Such faith as this is not daunted by opposition, nor dismayed by failure; but, in the darkest hour, when the iniquity of enemies most abounds, and the love of friends grows cold; when every wind brings tidings of disaster, and all else is lost, it can proudly and joyfully proclaim, that 'the unconquerable will still remain.' (Cheers.) Thank God, that Anti-Slavery had just such a man in the hour of need; that he published his paper with just the title that it bore, with just the engraving that was impressed upon its face, with those immortal words that are now written on all our hearts! We turn from these scenes with new confidence for the dark days yet to come. We must learn from the past that a righteous cause is not to be put down by defeat; that there are some defeats more glorious than victories, because they are the commencement of a series of victories, and the pledge of final triumph.

We may illustrate these truths by the history of every struggle for liberty. The Anti-Slavery cause has, not of late years, seen a crisis so dark as that morning when John Hancock and Samuel Adams were hidden among the branches of the old tree at Lexington, trembling with joy as they heard the first gun that was fired for American Independence. We hope never to see a period so sad as the time, after the battle of Long Island, when Washington was flying with his routed and dispirited troops from the superior and triumphant forces of the British; or as that winter at Valley Forge, when the snow was stained with the blood that flowed from the naked feet of the American soldiers. Why, the first battle of the Revolution, the battle of Bunker Hill itself, was an American defeat. Our fathers were driven from the hill, and their opponents remained in possession of the ground. And yet, the spot is marked as a monument, and the day is celebrated as an anniversary of freedom. You remember the remarkable words of General Washington, when he heard the result of that day's contest. He knew that the Americans were driven from the field, but he anxiously inquired whether they stood the fire of the regulars. You know why he asked this question. The Provincials were undisciplined and unused to conflict, and it was feared that the first volley from the British troops would scatter them like chaff. Washington was told that they received the first fire and the second firmly, and only fell back at last for want of ammunition. 'Thank God!' he cried, 'thank God, America is free!' He knew that the triumph of truth is certain, from the hour when it has gained a steadfast champion.

The friends of freedom stand very much in the condition of our fathers. They are undisciplined, undisciplined, and I am not sorry to say, undisciplined. And against them are gathered the regular forces of two great parties, well drilled, well paid, and commanded by the most skillful leaders. You have stood their fire hitherto like veteran soldiers. Continue at your posts as you have done, with the same unwavering firmness, the same dauntless courage, and then, looking to the future as Washington looked, we may say, in a far higher and nobler sense than that in which he said it—'Thank God, America is free!' (Cheers.)

In conclusion, Mr. President, I wish to give a sentiment. We should never, on such an occasion, forget our absent friends, and I give you—

WILLIAM AND ELLEN CHAPMAN—Fugitives now from a land of slavery; through their influence on the public mind, slavery shall, one day, be a fugitive from our land. (Renewed cheering.)

MR. GEORGE THOMPSON—I propose, with all possible earnestness, the health of Mrs. WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, and the family of herself and her beloved husband. (Applause.)

The following hymn was then sung:—

YE WHO IN BONDAGE PINE

BY WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

Air—America.

Ye who in bondage pine,
Shut out from light divine,
Heretofore of hope;
Whose limbs are worn with chains,
Whose hearts are broken with pains,
Whose blood our glory stains,
In gloom who grope:—

Shout! for the hour draws nigh
That gives you liberty!
And from the dust,
So long your vile embrace,
—Uprising, take your place
Among earth's noblest race,
—This right and just.

The night—the long, long night
Of slavery and slight,
Shame and disgrace,
And slavery, worse than e'er
Rome's serfs were doomed to bear,
Bloody beyond compare,
—Receives its hour!

Speed, speed the hour, O Lord!
Speak, and at Thy dread word,
Fetters shall fall
From every limb—the strong
No more the weaker wrong,
But Liberty's sweet song
Be sung by all!

THE CHAIRMAN—We have an ode from an anti-slavery poet, who has recently tuned his harp in the cause of Liberty; and we therefore hope that Mr. George W. Putnam, of Lynn, will give us a sentiment. And we don't care if, like the lady Caliban, his speech be song. (Laughter and applause.)

MR. PUTNAM began by saying—

May you be forgiven, Mr. Chairman, for calling up a little fellow like me to make a speech! As you have done it, however, I will say a word regarding the Liberator. In looking back, I remember that the first anti-slavery address I ever ascertained was to be delivered I went to hear, and as soon as I heard there was a Liberator, I went and obtained it. I say it because I have drunk from that fountain, and you see the effect. It is not the first time I have written a few lines of song for liberty. Many years since, when I wrote a few lines for liberty, it is a pleasing reminiscence to me that they were published in the Liberator.

There have been predictions continually, that we were to die in a little while. I remember, in the early days of this cause, there were some clergymen, who, finding that the breeze was increasing, thought it was as well to steal the thunder, and go ahead. And I recollect on one occasion, the Rev. Mr. Towne said, 'We will put Garrison down, or we ourselves will go off in the smoke.' That Garrison has been put down, let this meeting bear witness. (Applause.) And if that reverend gentleman has not gone off in smoke, I should like to know where he is. (Laughter.)

Sir, our cause is divine, and its true friends cannot be separated or conquered. A party held together for a Tariff or a Bank may be defeated, or divided and destroyed. But for us, united by the ties of a great moral principle, 'there is, as Richelieu says, 'no such word as fail.' As for sentiments, I have but one to give, and that is—

The Cause—May it soon bring to the field every true heart in the land.

THE CHAIRMAN—I will give you the following sentiment:

The New Heresy—That there is a Higher Law than that of man, and that God is supreme above his children. May it soon become the Orthodox Faith of the American People!

There has been a gentleman present who has, within a few months, given an able exposition of the higher law. I allude to John W. Browne, Esq., and hope he will respond to this call, if he is still here.

A VOICE—Mr. Browne has left the hall.

THE CHAIRMAN—If our friend Mr. Browne has gone, let me say that we have all heard of Locke on the Human Understanding. We have here a Locke,

who I hope will be able to explain it. I will call, therefore, on the Rev. Joseph J. Locke, of Barre.

MR. LOCKE responded as follows:—

Were I not fully assured, in my own mind, that I am wholly incompetent to make a speech at all fitting to the present occasion, no one would be more desirous than myself to respond to your call. Many allusions have been made to the Liberator, and to its noble editor. I am reminded of an allusion by Byron to the fate of Tasso. He said, 'Peace to Torquato's shade!' I would say—Peace to the once troubled spirit of William Lloyd Garrison! On that name attend the tears of gratitude and of veneration for his unflinching constancy to virtue, for which he will have the blessings of the poor and the outcast through all coming time. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN—I am happy to inform the audience, that we are not so entirely destitute of clerical influence here, to-night, as has been supposed. I hear that we have present an estimable clergyman—one who preaches the truth, if we may judge by its fruits—as in his church having one hundred and sixty members, not one voted for Cass or Taylor. (Cheers.) I know not the religious sentiments of that clergyman, but I will endorse him as a true minister of the gospel, if he will accept the very indifferent endorsement of such a person as myself. (Laughter and applause.)

The gentlemen referred to rose and said—

MR. CHAIRMAN—Although called at this time a 'Cosmopolite,' it pleases me at such an hour as this to have a locality. I have been a pastor, with the privilege of being associated with men whose lives were linked with glorious causes. I call to mind one, in all places a man, who has gone to his glorious reward. Living, he was revered, but at his death there was such universal lamentation as is never manifested at the death of those selfishly prudent, and ever 'floating with the currents.' The utterance of the 'little thread' reveals what is in the heart of the living, and there are many who must die, before the world's decision will be given in full. Mr. Garrison, the honored one of this brilliant assemblage, is such a personage. For him there are to be trumpet-tongues, and truth-telling speech. (Applause.)

Differing from him in many things, I have heard the say of all classes. Years ago, when a lad, I heard his name and paper mentioned in association with that which is dishonest, indecent and intolerable. He was under the foot of public opinion. Like the lion in the fable, he had no painter. But he has had here, this evening, out of the ranks of Free Soil men, all professions—even the cautious of the Orthodox, often associate our guest with integrity, heroism, and true humanity. From the speech of slaveholders in private, I am led to believe they will covet the honor of furnishing his biographer. (Cheers.)

MR. CHAIRMAN, speaking here or elsewhere, I mean so to speak that humanity shall not be separated from my profession. If we are true to ourselves and the times, we must 'cry aloud and spare not,' laboring that the Church of Christ be as 'a city set on a hill.' I would be such a minister, if I might, teaching and believing that

'He prayeth best, who loveth best,
All things that great and small;
For the dear God who loveth us,
He made and loveth all.'

Orthodoxy talks of hell as I do. But who finds it? They surely who resist their convictions. I have said it, and I believe, that the Reformer, unselfish, asking Divine guidance, going out in plans, labors, and devotion, with his very self for human weal and God, cannot find a hell. Disregarding sectarian lines in this day of compromises and moral bankruptcy, it little becomes us to make consignments for eternity, when Heaven will ask of all as concerning our honored friend Wm. Lloyd Garrison, 'What did he do, and what did he become?' (Applause.)

(I must shut the company of my friend from Plymouth, if he continues calling me up unexpectedly as he does.) As the hands of the clock admonish us that we are near the morning hour, I will sit down, Mr. Chairman, by saying that I have slept in a cabin in Wisconsin, on a high point of land, where the falling rain on one side flowed into the Fox river to make the leap of Niagara, and then to pass on down the St. Lawrence, and where, on the other side, the rain poured through the Wisconsin down to widen the 'Father of Waters.' A strange place, and the beginning of mighty forces,—finding a parallel in the brain before me, which, for twenty years, has made highways to hearts, North and South, of more value to humanity, than are the ways of the rivers to the ocean for commerce. May that brain continue to work, moving a right arm to beat down slavery, and a left to raise up the degraded at home. Let us pray and labor for that day, when the Pulpit and the Politician shall be joined in hand with our guest in the use of the Press, that a national ejaculation may be heard in song, 'Jehovah hath triumphed, his people are free.' (Cheers.)

THE CHAIRMAN—This seems to be an occasion in which we are singularly blessed with the ministrations of the clergy. We are accused of deserting that order of men; but I believe it is they who have deserted us, rather than the contrary. I call upon the Rev. JOHN T. SARGENT, to let us have one word from him.

MR. SARGENT rose merely to apologise for not making a set speech, and the substance of his remarks was as follows:—

I know not how it is, Mr. President, but I never hear that title of Rev. appended to our names, without a feeling that we ought to hide our heads in the consciousness of our deficiencies. I do not rise to make a speech—and that for two reasons: one is, that the clergy and the church have already been sufficiently well represented in the remarks of those preceding me; and another is, that the hour is late, and I ought, on account of sickness in my family, to have been at home two hours ago. I was urged, however, by the sick friends of my home, to express my sympathy with your festive occasion, at least by my presence, and this I am most happy to have done.—(Loud applause.) It is certainly a somewhat significant circumstance, that in such an assembly as this, you have to search for the clergy as for hidden treasures;



From the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

ANTI-APH.

BY JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

Praiser Law, friend? We, too, love it much as they
that love it best;
Tis the deep, august foundation, whereon Peace and
Justice rest;
On the rock primeval; hidden in the Past its bases
be,
Block by block the endeavoring Ages built it up to
what we see.
But dig down: the Old unbury: thou shalt find on
every stone
That each Age hath carved the symbol of what God
to man was known;
Ugly shapes and brutish sometimes, but the fairest
that they knew;
If their sight were dark and earthward, yet their hope
and aim were true.

Surely as the unconscious needle feels the far-off
load-star draw,
So strives every gracious nature to at-one itself with
law,
And the elder Saints and Sages laid their pious frame-
works right
By a theocratic instinct covered from the people's
sight.
As their gods were, so their laws were: Thor the
strong could ride and steal,
So through many a peaceful inlet tore the Norseman's
eager keel:
But a new law came when Christ came, and, not
blameless as before,
Can we, paying him our lip-tithes, give our lives and
faiths to Thor?

Law is holy: ay, but what Law? Is there nothing
more divine
Than the patched-up broils of Congress—venal, full
of meat and wine?
Is there, ay, nothing higher? Nought, God save
us! that transcends
Laws of Cotton texture, wove by vulgar men for vul-
gar ends?

Did Jehovah ask their counsel, or submit to them
a plan,
Ere he filled with loves, hopes, longings, this as-
piring heart of man?
For their edict does the soul wait, ere it swing round
toward the pole
Of the true, the free, the God-willed, all that makes
it be a soul?

Law is holy; but not your law, ye who keep the
tablets whole,
While ye dash the Law to pieces, shatter it in life and
soul;
Bearing up the ark is lightsome, golden Apis hid
within,
While ye Levites share the offerings, richer by the
people's sin.

Give to Caesar what is Caesar's? yes, but tell me, if
you can,
Is this superscription Caesar's, here upon our brother
man?
Is not here some other's image, dark and sullied
though it be,
In this fellow-soul that worships, struggles God-ward
even as we?

It was not to such a future that the Mayflower's
prow was turned,
Not to such a faith the martyrs clung, exulting as
they bared;
Not by such laws are men fashioned, earnest, simple,
valiant, great,
In the household virtues whereon rests the uncon-
querable State.

Ah, there is a higher gospel; overhead the God-roof
springs,
And each glad, obedient planet, like a golden shuttle
sings,
Through the web which Time is weaving in his never-
resting loom,
Weaving seasons many-colored, bringing prophecy to
doom.

Think you Truth a farthing rush-light, to be pinched
out when you will,
With your deft official fingers, and your politician's
skill?
Is your God a wooden fetish, to be hidden out of
sight,
That his block-eyes may not see you do the thing
that is not right?

But the Destinies think not so: to their judgment-
chamber lone
Comes no noise of popular clamor, there Fame's
trumpet is not blown;
Your majorities they reck not—that you grant, but
then you say,
That you differ from them somewhat;—which is
stronger, you or they?

Patience they are the insects that build islands in
the deep;
They hurl not the bolted thunder, but their silent
way they keep;
Where they have been, that we know; where Em-
pires towered that were not just,
Lo! the skulking wild-fox scratches in a little heap
of dust.

From the Weekly Evening Post.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

BY ANN PRESTON.

We've woven now our crime of shame, no words our
guilt may speak,
The comment on the deed we've done is made by
groan, and shriek;
The land whose cradle freedom rocked, the nation of
the brave,
Has kissed the dust, and like a hound she hunts the
helpless slave!
When child and mother flee from chains, she scents
their bleeding track,
And, seizing them with giant hold, she hurls the
tremblers back!
Oh! mother-lard, thy children weep to see thee sunk
to this,
The very despots of the earth raise up their heads
and hiss,
But deep, firm voices fill the air; I hear their mighty
swell,
'We to the fiend that executes this statute law of
hell:
Our doors are open to the slave, we'll feed the hun-
gry still,
Despite of every fiendish band; so help us, God, we
will!
Till man's great heart shall change to stone, till sun
and stars grow pale,
Till God himself forsakes his world, this law shall
not prevail.

WORDS AND DEEDS.

The words and deeds of great men never die.
They are not silent when their lips are dumb.
And though we hear them not amid the hum
Of bustling earth, in solitude's clear sky
They still are speaking, like the lark on high,
That sings above the thundering battle plain:
The poet and the painter chant one strain,
And each to each gives immortality.

The Liberator.

NINETEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society was held in Boston, at the Tremont Temple, commencing on Wednesday, January 23d, at 11 o'clock, A. M.; at which hour the President, FRANCIS JACKSON, of Boston, called the meeting to order.

On motion of Wendell Phillips, *Voted*, That three Assistant Secretaries, and the usual Committees of Business and of Finance, be nominated by the Chair. Samuel May, Jr., Elias J. Kenny, of Salem, and Levi D. Smith, of Stoneham, were nominated and chosen Assistant Secretaries.

The following persons were nominated and chosen a Committee on Business:—Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Anne W. Weston, Parker Pillsbury, Edmund Quincy, Charles P. Hovey, Thomas Haskell, Frances H. Drake, Charles C. Burleigh. The following were nominated and chosen a Committee of Finance:—James N. Buffum, Lewis Ford, Joshua T. Everett, Nathaniel B. Spooner, Elbridge Sprague.

The Treasurer, Samuel Philbrick, presented and read his Annual Report, which had been duly audited. The Report was accepted, and will be found in another place.

On motion of Edmund Quincy, *Voted*, That a Committee to report a list of officers of the Society for the ensuing year be now nominated by the Chair.

The following persons were nominated and chosen said Committee:—Edmund Quincy of Dedham; E. F. Capron, of Worcester; Bourne Spooner, of Plymouth; Joshua T. Everett, of Princeton; William Whiting, of Concord; Charles P. Hovey, of Boston; William Ashby, of Newburyport; Stillman Smith, of Norton; Benj. Snow, Jr., of Fitchburg. Edmund Quincy presented the Annual Report of the Board of Managers, and read extracts from it.

Adjourned to 2 3-4 o'clock.

Afternoon Session.—The President called the meeting to order at the hour appointed.

Wendell Phillips, from the Committee on Business, reported the following Resolutions:—

1. Resolved, That while prominent individuals and a professedly anti-slavery party oppose the Fugitive Slave Bill of 1850, on the ground that it is unconstitutional, oppressive, and liable to gross abuse; we, the abolitionists of Massachusetts, desire to have distinctly understood, that we are utterly and forever opposed to the surrender itself of fugitive slaves, no matter what the method may be, whether constitutional or not, whether cautiously guarded so as to protect freedom, or left open to every abuse; and that, CONSTITUTION OR NO CONSTITUTION, LAW OR NO LAW, we will neither aid in such return, nor swear to do so, to secure the influence of any office or to avert supposed danger to any Government.

2. Resolved, That the compromises of the Constitution are one of the chief bulwarks of the slave system, an appeal to the blind prejudice in favor of which, in every critical emergency, an answer to every argument; and serves, in the hands of the pulpit and the press, to confuse the conception of the plainest moral duties; and, therefore, whoever seeks to make efficient war on slavery, must take the most unequivocal position in relation to these; leave no doubt of his situation in this respect; not only treat, but proclaim that he intends to treat, them, and all laws enacted in pursuance of them, as null and void while they exist, and labor to overthrow the Union, which rests upon them, as speedily as possible.

3. Resolved, That one of our objections to the Free Soil party is, that it wears two faces. To protect itself against the direct attacks of the Whigs and Democrats and of the South, and gain the ear of the conservative portion of the community, it professes allegiance to the Federal Constitution; while on the other hand, to secure the sympathy of the masses, and especially of those earnest spirits upon whom it must chiefly rely for aid and growth, its prominent leaders and friends allow themselves to be looked on as the refuge and protectors of the fugitive slave. In our view, this is seeking to do justice by the commission of perjury; and the only merit such a party can claim is that its instincts are better than its principles; and we exhort them to show at least as much moral life, so much deference to the highest moral standard, as to attempt to explain how they can swear to do that they have no intention of doing—how they can take an oath to the Federal Constitution; an oath, the virtuous breaking of which, after its being deliberately taken in such circumstances as the present, is only less infamous than the keeping of it would be.

4. Resolved, That the recent Union meeting, in Faneuil Hall, some of whose actors are well known to have helped fugitive slaves, and others to have refused to do their official duty in this respect, would, in any other circumstances, have been a farce, but must now be regarded, by all honest men, as a solemn lie.

5. Resolved, That the infamous Union Committee of New York, embodying the highest legal ability in that city, all made subservient to the use of the slave claimant whose expenses that Committee shared,—thus taking away one of the most natural and legal discouragements to the recovery of fugitive slaves,—is, we are afraid, too far an exponent of the real public sentiment of the free States.

6. Resolved, That whoever wishes evidence as to the character of Northern Churches, may find it in the fact, that reference to politics was deemed desecration of the pulpit, and silence was proclaimed to be the duty of leading denominations, until that silence was broken in behalf of the slave-catcher, and the leading spirits of all sects leaped into the arena to uphold the Fugitive Slave Bill. Such an one may find evidence in the efforts of Drs. Spring and Cox, Drs. Rogers and Sharp, Drs. Taylor and Hawks, Moses Stuart and Orville Dewey, to confuse the moral perceptions and freeze the merciful instincts of the community; making Christianity the stalking horse of their row prejudice and fawning desire for the approbation of what are thought great men; prostituting it to be the servant of human laws, and exhorting the religious men and women of the North to yield their conscientious convictions to the drunken voices of a mob of trading politicians and profane revellers, dignified with the title of the Congress of the United States.

7. Resolved, That the late atrocious charge of Mr. Justice McLean, in the case of Norris vs. Crocker and others, straining as it does every principle of law to effect the condemnation of innocent men, strikes us with no surprise either from that Bench or that man; we know that the four Northern tenants of that Bench have always been chosen from such material as could be easily moulded by their five Southern brethren; that Mr. McLean was the last man in Ohio who struggled to hold slaves there; that in his whole judicial course he has never been betrayed into an emotion of mercy or an utterance for freedom; and we rejoice that his constant, and, of late, increased servility to the Slave Power, has never deceived either the North or the South.

8. Resolved, That the course of the Mayor and Aldermen of this city, in avowing that, at the late meeting for the reception of George Thompson in Faneuil Hall, Marshal Tukey acted by their orders, and with their approbation, exhibits such an ignorance of law and of their duties, such cringing to public opinion, such entire want of physical and moral courage, as to be alike proof and confession of their disqualification for the offices they hold; and their recent refusal of Faneuil Hall to this Society, on the ground that George Thompson was to appear

on its platform, is a gross injustice to us as tax-paying inhabitants, and a shameful confession that they rule this city as the servants of the mob.

9. Resolved, That we labor to effect such a change of public sentiment here, that Boston may have city officers enlightened and independent enough to have opinions of their own, not the mere tools of contractors, or bobs to the kites of any party or press—men educated sufficiently to understand, and honest enough to attempt at least, impartially, to protect every citizen in his legal rights.

Mr. Phillips took up the first three resolutions, and spoke eloquently in their support.

On motion of Samuel May, Jr., a resolution touching the expenses of the meeting was adopted, and the Committee on Finance was authorized to call additional members to its aid.

Charles C. Burleigh spoke in support of the Resolutions.

John C. Cluer, of Boston, offered the following resolution, and spoke briefly in its support, giving notice of his intention to speak more fully upon it at a future meeting, and introduce documentary evidence:—

10. Resolved, That the accusation brought against GEORGE THOMPSON, by T. D. McGee, a professed refugee patriot, charging Mr. Thompson with having voted, in Parliament, for a Bill 'which made free speech treason,' is false, and that the bringing of such a charge against one of the firmest friends of liberty, at a moment when all her friends were combined against him, shows its author a traitor to the cause he professes to love, such as even a slaveholder would spurn.

Adjourned, to meet at Central Hall, Milk street, at 7 o'clock.

Evening Session.—Met according to adjournment, at Central Hall; Effingham L. Capron, one of the Vice Presidents, in the Chair.

The resolutions before the Society being read by the Secretary,

Edmund Quincy addressed the meeting. He referred to the intelligence brought by the magnetic telegraph to-day from Washington, that the members of Congress are signing a pledge—not the temperance pledge, Mr. President, said Mr. Q., though I apprehend that a great many of the gentlemen in question would be vastly benefited by signing that document—not the temperance pledge, but a pledge to stand by the compromise acts of the last session, and to resist any efforts to disturb them, or even to bring them again into discussion; and that they will support no man for President of the United States who is not pledged to sustain the measures in question to the fullest extent. These gentlemen, Sir, are going to suppress discussion, by publishing it abroad that there shall not a word be said on the subject; and they are going to produce quiet, like the man in court, by their incessant shouts of silence! It is a common saying, that the age of miracles has gone. But it is not so. The Abolitionists have worked a miracle. They have made the Congress of the United States a *useful body*; they have compelled that body to an almost unintermitting discussion of slavery, and have made them earn their allowance. Mr. Q. went on to show that the anti-slavery cause is largely indebted to its enemies for its growth and its present triumphant position, and that, in the Providence of God, opposition to the cause has been a powerful agent in extending a knowledge and consequent interest in the subject.

William Lloyd Garrison came forward, and was received with loud applause. He expressed regret that he had been, of necessity, absent from the meetings during the day. He said that, from the appearance of the audience before and around him, he saw so many old and familiar faces, he apprehended there were not many present who needed converting. Still, said Mr. G., I shall ask to be allowed to forget, for the time being, those old friends, and speak, it may be, to the single mind in the audience who has now to hear for the first time an Anti-Slavery speech. Mr. G. proceeded to examine some of the most common objections to the Abolitionists and their cause. Among these, he referred to the charge that they have undertaken an Utopian and impracticable work, namely, the relinquishment and extinction, by the holders thereof, of the principal part of their property, throughout one-half of the States of the Union—a property estimated by Henry Clay, more than ten years ago, at twelve hundred millions of dollars. Now, I admit, said Mr. Garrison, that if we are making war on this amount of real property, the charge against us is good. But we are doing no such thing. If the trump of emancipation should sound this night, and every slave in the land be converted instantly into a freeman, *there would not be one dollar less of property than there is now.* The houses, the farms, the plantations, would remain; the lands would remain; all the materials and implements of industry and of labor would remain. And the men and the women would remain; and as their value is in their productiveness, let the planters and others employ them as free laborers, as we employ one another in the North, and the value of that labor, upon the land, and in every branch of art and mechanics, would very soon be doubled, and even trebled. Mr. G. considered various other objections, and concluded his speech, which had been listened to throughout with deep interest, in something like the following words:—It is sometimes said that we are seeking justice for the slave. But it is not justice we ask for him. O, no! We ask no compensation for his toils, his stripes, his sufferings—for the agonies of his life, for the degradation of generation after generation. We only ask that he shall be houseless, landless, penniless—*BUT WITH FREEDOM.* (Great applause.) We hold that there can be no compensation for the slave's wrongs. All the gold and silver in the country, and all the lands of the broad South together, could never compensate the slave for the wrongs, the insults, the degradation and the misery heaped upon him and his fathers, through past generations. Mr. G. urged his hearers, one and all, to espouse this sacred cause of freedom and humanity, and took his seat amidst loud and unanimous applause.

William Goodell, of Honesoy Falls, New York, one of the veterans in the anti-slavery cause, being called upon by Mr. Garrison, came forward, and was warmly received. He said if there was any point in which he differed from his friends around him, it is on the question whether there is any constitutional obligation resting on this government and nation to uphold slavery. But he should not discuss this now. He was rejoiced to hear the sentiments which had been repeatedly avowed in these discussions, and in the resolutions before the Society, against the Fugitive Slave Law. We in New York, said Mr. Goodell, like yourselves, Sir, take the ground that, Constitution or no Constitution, the Fugitive Slave Law shall not be enforced. In that part of New York where I reside, I am confident that at least two-thirds of the people are of this mind. There is no place, west of Albany, in which a court could be held, to give back a fugitive slave; no, not even in Buffalo, where Millard Fillmore resides when at home, could such a court, I confidently believe, be held. It may be that Buffalo would prove an exception to this remark, but I doubt it. The Albany Evening Journal, a paper not over zealous in the cause of anti-slavery, recently said that Mr. Fillmore, with the whole United States army at his heels, could not enforce the Fugitive Slave Law in Central and Western New York; and added, if he supposes he can, let him try it! This, Sir, is rather violent language—unlike the usual peaceful attitude of the Abolitionists—but it is undeniably the feeling of a very large proportion of the inhabitants of New York. William H. Seward has been blamed here, and condemned, as in a false position in his appeal to a higher law. I admit, Sir, that he is in an inconsistent position, and I agree with what was said by Mr. Phillips in respect thereto. But I apprehend that his position is not clearly understood. I fear

that he lacks moral courage to avow his real sentiment as to the Constitution of the United States. I think it probable that he holds the view that the Constitution of the United States has an anti-slavery character and meaning. If he would only have the courage to come out and declare his real opinion, he might be found a consistent man. But, said Mr. Goodell, differ as we may on these and other points, we can all agree here, that whether slavery be in the Constitution or not, it MUST CEASE; whether by revolution or otherwise, slavery shall be blotted out!

Wendell Phillips said, with regard to what had been suggested about William H. Seward, that it left him in a worse position than before. For a man, in his circumstances, who holds in his own breast the key which explains and clears up his apparent inconsistency and want of principle, to refuse to use that key, and suffer the cause to labor under the odium of duplicity, proves himself one of the most dangerous foes of the cause. Mr. P. expressed his fear that the enthusiasm against the Fugitive Law, which Mr. Goodell had described as prevailing in the State of New York, would not last. We have just seen Henry Long, said he, sent back into slavery from the city of New York, and the 'Union Committee' there volunteered to bear a large part of the expenses of the so-called trial. Our friend Goodell has told us of the rural districts. We have not reached them yet. Philadelphia has fallen before the Fugitive Law! She has shown too great an alacrity, and sent back the wrong man into slavery. New York, the great commercial metropolis of the nation, has bowed and fallen before the Slave Power; and to-day we have heard that the slave-catchers are in Boston again, in search of a man said to have taken refuge with one of our citizens.

Mr. Garrison added a few remarks on the more cheering aspects of the subject, and the Society adjourned, to meet in the Tremont Temple, at 10 o'clock, A. M., on the morrow.

THURSDAY.

Morning Session.—The Society met according to adjournment, the President in the chair.

On motion of Wendell Phillips, the hour of half past three o'clock, P. M., was assigned for the consideration of the funds of the Society for the ensuing year.

The resolutions reported by the Business Committee yesterday came up for discussion, and the sixth in number was spoken to by Samuel May, Jr., and Joshua T. Everett.

Addison Davis followed, and occupied the entire remainder of the morning session with a repetition of the old and oft-repeated argument, that the United States Constitution contains no compromises with, or guarantees to, slavery.

Charles C. Burleigh followed, but gave way to Edmund Quincy, on whose motion the Society adjourned to 2 3-4 o'clock, P. M.

Afternoon Session.—The Society again met in the Tremont Temple, the President in the chair.

Charles C. Burleigh spoke in reply to Mr. Davis's morning argument, until the hour assigned for the raising of funds had arrived and passed, and then gave way for that subject.

Wendell Phillips spoke with eloquence and effect on the subject of funds, and the present exigencies of the Anti-Slavery cause.

Mr. Garrison followed with some brief remarks on the work before us, and the Society adjourned to 6 3-4 o'clock, P. M.

Evening Session.—Again assembled at the Tremont Temple, Edmund Quincy, a Vice President, in the chair.

Charles C. Burleigh concluded his speech on the Constitutional guarantees to slavery.

James N. Buffum moved that speakers be limited to twenty minutes. On motion of Wm. A. White, the motion was laid upon the table.

The discussion was resumed by Charles List, who spoke mainly on the Fugitive Slave Law.

In the course of his speech, Mr. List gave way to Dr. Cutter, who came into the Hall to offer the voluntary services of four young ladies, the Misses Hall, (now giving concerts in the city, and in another apartment of the Temple), to sing an Anti-Slavery song. The offer being accepted, the ladies appeared and sang, in a very agreeable manner, 'The Fugitive Slave's Appeal to the North Star'; and afterwards, 'Ho! the Car Emancipation.' And being warmly applauded and encored, they returned and sang, 'There's a good time coming.' The songs harmonized well with the debates, and formed a pleasant episode. Afterwards, the brothers Hutchinson sang, in their rich notes, a song in rebuke of Daniel Webster's apostasy, and his servility to slavery.

Wendell Phillips then took the floor, and offered the following resolution:—

11. Resolved, That in regard to SAMUEL ATKINS ELLIOT, in his votes on the Territorial and Fugitive Slave Bills, we will not undertake to decide whether he represented or misrepresented his constituency; but since neither he nor his friends have attempted any defence of either of those measures, except as necessary to avert dangers which nothing but the grossest ignorance could believe to exist, his base selfishness and craven spirit at that crisis make all former Northern treason look white by the side of the blackness of his infamy; and as long as New England retains any spark of the spirit or of the pride of her ancestry, his memory will be held in loathing and abhorrence.

Mr. Phillips referred to the vote which Samuel A. Elliot gave in the Massachusetts Legislature, to instruct the Massachusetts delegation in Congress to oppose all extension of slavery; and to his subsequent vote, at Washington, as one of that delegation, in favor of all the compromise measures with slavery, the Fugitive Slave Law included! It was base fear for the tariff, said Mr. P., and an equally base and false plea, that the law of 1850 is no worse than the law of 1793, that led him to give this disgraceful vote.

If the law of 1850 is no worse than that of '93, how comes it, said Mr. P., that within four months we have had, here in Boston, two different attempts to recover fugitive slaves, and that they are occurring by scores throughout the Northern States, and so much more frequently than ever before in the history of the nation?

It becomes our duty, said he, to express our moral contempt and indignation of Mr. Elliot's vote and whole course on this matter, and to show that the presence of the slave-catchers in our streets is a consequence and a fitting commentary on his vote, and recent letter in justification thereof.

Daniel Webster has told us, said Mr. Phillips, that whoever undertakes to re-open the question of slavery, will find himself in a poor and contemptible minority. Does not Mr. Webster know that poor and contemptible minorities have reformed and ruled mankind? Did he never hear of a contemptible minority of twelve men, gathered in an upper chamber, whose voice and whose doctrine revolutionized the world? Mr. Webster says that when the compromise measures passed the last session of Congress, every body understood that the settlement was a final one. Indeed! Lord John Russell once, in the British Parliament, for a doctrine similar to this of Mr. Webster's, got the nickname of Finality John. We may call him Finality Daniel. Did he not know that there were men and women, scattered up and down the land, who love the Anti-Slavery cause too well to allow any final settlement of it like this?

In 1846, said Mr. P., a Committee of the Massachusetts Government laid out a road westerly from Boston, as far as Newton; and when they reported the fact, they took much satisfaction in the completion of the work, saying that no road would ever be needed farther in that direction! They were the *finality* men of their day. Mr. Webster's foresight may be taken as equal to theirs.

At the conclusion of an eloquent and very able speech, which was much applauded, and of which the above furnished but an occasional fragment, the Society adjourned to Friday, 10 o'clock, A. M.

FRIDAY.

Morning Session.—The Society again assembled in the Tremont Temple, the President being in the chair.

The resolutions of the Business Committee being still before the meeting, were advocated by Rev. Joseph J. Locke, of Barre, Thomas H. Jones, once a slave in North Carolina, whose speech was received with great favor, and Judson Hutchinson.

Mrs. Rodion, of Providence, spoke chiefly on the question of Woman's Rights, and was repeatedly called to order.

John C. Cluer moved, and the Society voted to lay the resolutions on the table, and take up the resolution presented by him on Wednesday afternoon, relative to a slanderous charge against George Thompson. He defended Mr. Thompson from the charge of T. D. McGee, that he voted in Parliament for the Irish Coercion Bill, and showed, by incontrovertible documentary proof, that the charge was false and libellous in the last degree.

Mr. Cluer's resolution was then adopted; there being a very general vote throughout the audience in the affirmative, and one only in the negative.

The resolutions on the table were taken up, and the meeting was addressed by Rev. Theodore Parker. He occupied a little time in reviewing that portion of Gov. Boutwell's recent Message which speaks in such twaddling and evasive terms of the Fugitive Slave Law. Mr. Parker also examined the question whether a juror is in all cases obliged to find a verdict in conformity with the facts proved; or whether, in a case where he believes justice and popular rights require it, he may not give a verdict contrary to the facts, without being morally perjured.

Soon after 1 o'clock, adjourned to 2 1-2 o'clock.

Afternoon Session.—Met at the hour appointed, in the Temple; the President in the chair.

Edmund Quincy, from Committee on Officers of the Society, reported the following list:—

President,
FRANCIS JACKSON, Boston.

Vice Presidents,
ANDREW ROBERTSON, New Bedford.
EDMUND QUINCY, Dedham.

Stillman LOTHROP, Cambridge.
AMOS FARNSWORTH, Gorton.
ADIN BALLOU, Milford.

JOHN M. FISK, West Brookfield.
JOSHUA T. EVERETT, Princeton.
EFFINGHAM L. CAPRON, Worcester.

JEPHTHON CHURCH, Springfield.
WILLIAM B. STONE, Gardner.
OLIVER GARDNER, Nantucket.

HENRY I. BOWDITCH, Boston.
GEORGE HOTT, Athol.
JOHN C. GORE, Roxbury.

JOSHUA HENSHAW, West Brookfield.
CAROLINE WESTON, Weymouth.
BENJAMIN SNOW, Jr., Fitchburg.

GEORGE MILES, Westminister.
JAMES N. BUTTUM, Lynn.
CYRUS PIERCE, Newton.

JOHN T. HILTON, Cambridgeport.
THOMAS T. STONE, Salem.
DOCKNEY SPOONER, Plymouth.

WILLIAM ASHBY, Newburyport.
JOHN BAILEY, Lynn.
CHARLES F. HOVEY, Boston.

J. S. STAFFORD, Cambridge.
JOSEPH J. LOCKE, Barre.

Corresponding Secretary,
EDMUND QUINCY, Dedham.

Recording Secretary,
ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Boston.

Treasurer,
SAMUEL PHILBRICK, Brookline.

Auditor,
EDMUND JACKSON, Boston.

Councillors,
WM. LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS,
MARIA W. CHAPMAN, JOHN ROBERTS,
CONNELIUS BRAMHALL, ANNE W. WESTON,
ELIZA LEW FOLLEN, JOHN M. SPEAR,
CHARLES K. WHITFIELD, JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL,
SAMUEL MAY, JR., WILLIAM I. BOWDITCH.

The question being taken on the acceptance of the report, it was decided in the affirmative; and the individuals named were elected the officers of the Society.

The resolutions before the meeting were further discussed by Edmund Quincy, George W. Putnam, of Lynn, Thomas Russell, of Plymouth, and Wendell Phillips, who controverted the position of Mr. Parker, respecting the juror's right to shape his verdict according to his own ideas of justice.

William L. Garrison introduced the two following resolutions:—

12. Resolved, That in the visit of our long-tried and untiring co-adjutor, GEORGE THOMPSON, to this country, for the second time, we see cause for emotions of the deepest shame and feelings of the liveliest gratitude—shame, that in this vaunted land of freedom, there are millions of our countrymen still wearing the galling chains of a slavery which England has long since abolished throughout all her dominions—and gratitude that, notwithstanding all the scorn, insult and outrage heaped upon him when among us fifteen years ago, as the advocate of universal emancipation, he generously throws the past into oblivion, and is once more with us, the same dauntless and world-embracing spirit, the same magnanimous and invincible champion of freedom, the same unwavering friend to the liberty and prosperity of our country, the same fearless and eloquent advocate of the rights of the enslaved,—as ready to incur obloquy and persecution now, in the same glorious cause, as he was in the perilous times of 1834-5.

13. Resolved, That with three millions of our countrymen in the galling chains of slavery, we have a fitting commentary on the empty declaration, that this is 'the land of the FREE';—and in the consternation which is every where visible in this country at the presence of GEORGE THOMPSON, we are presented with an equally striking commentary on the general boast, that this is 'the home of the SLAVE'!

These resolutions were then adopted unanimously. The Chairman of the Finance Committee, Mr. Buffum, reported the amount of funds raised and pledged. A subsequent examination of the papers, more full and careful than the Committee had then had time to give, shows that the whole amount of cash collected is \$350; and that nearly \$1200 have been pledged.

The question was then taken on the remaining resolutions before the meeting separately. They were all adopted, with a few opposing votes; but it is believed that those votes were not given by persons members of the Society, or friendly to the anti-slavery cause.

The Society then adjourned, sine die.

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